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XIX.—THE RELATION OF HAUFF'S *LICHTENSTEIN* TO SCOTT'S *WAVERLEY*.

In a paper read before the Modern Language Association of America in 1899 (*Americana Germanica*, vol. III, pp. 386–392), Dr. C. W. Eastman presented evidence that seemed to him to warrant the conclusion that Hauff modeled his historical romance *Lichtenstein* upon Scott's *Ivanhoe*. His contention is well supported and does not lack plausibility. But inasmuch as I had been accustomed for several years to set my students in the Criticism of the Novel the practice-task of hunting for the similarities in *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, which seem to me quite obvious, I was not disposed to let the claim of Dr. Eastman pass without closer examination.

It may, indeed, be asked, What difference does it make? Yet I think there are sound reasons for pursuing such an investigation. The chief of these are not, however, to convict a certain author of deliberate plagiarism, or to demonstrate the keenness of the investigator, although these ends may at times have their justification. The prime value of such an investigation is the establishment of the principles by which literary kinship and dependence are to be recognized, for these principles are of the utmost importance in studying the relationship of schools and movements and periods in literature. A secondary and somewhat allied value is found in the necessary preliminary study and analysis of the literary form concerned.

In the case of the novel, we have to deal with such elements as the plot, the leading personages, and the *motifs*,—whatever constitutes the dynamic part of the work,—and with the background, the secondary personages, the situations, the devices, the method, the proportion of elements, the style, and many other features which may all be comprised under the head of the statics of the novel. Even a hasty considera-

tion of these elements will satisfy a careful student that certain of them are more nearly universal and therefore more common property than are certain others. Some one has said that there are but six plots in the world when all are reduced to their lowest terms. Certain combinations of personages are practically inevitable. A prince must have his lieutenant and his valet; a lover must love a lady, while the lady must have a *confidante* and a maid. Certain elements of life are a matter of course: a knight must do valorous deeds for his lady; the course of true love must run crooked; adventurers must resort to disguises and freebooters to ambushes. Certain *motifs* must continue to prompt to the interesting actions of the world: love, jealousy, ambition, pride, revenge, greed, valor, appetite. To find several of these *motifs* and these juxtapositions of personages in two novels need not rouse suspicion of direct kinship. It is rather the order and proportion and the specific value of these elements that furnish evidence of relationship. More especially is mutual dependence evinced by the presence of identical details in connection with the same persons and situations. Finally, and of course most indubitable, stand close resemblance of style, which may indeed be unconsciously imitated, and bodily borrowing, which is deliberate plagiarism.

As Dr. Eastman has pointed out, Hauff is very frank in avowing his admiration of Scott and his intention to attempt in *Lichtenstein* to do for Suabia what the "Great Unknown" had done for Scotland. This emphasis of Sir Walter's service to Scotland might indeed hint at *Waverley* rather than at *Ivanhoe*. But in the sketches entitled *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* Hauff had before this commented on the extraordinary popularity of Scott's novels in Germany and declared his own purpose to write a novel in Scott's manner. In these sketches he mentions only two of the novels by name: *Quentin Durward* and *Ivanhoe*, expressing especial admiration for the latter. These are the only outward clues I can discover to

guide us in our search for a specific original of *Lichtenstein*. Hence we are left to internal evidence.

I beg leave to put in evidence (as the lawyers say) the scope, the historical background, the plot, the list of personages, the leading situations, of the three novels under consideration.

SCOPE OF *LICHTENSTEIN*.

Lichtenstein is a tale of military adventure and love, being the fortunes of a young knight errant resulting from renouncing the cause of a strong government to espouse that of an exiled prince attempting to regain his heritage, the failure of the cause of the prince with the pardon and marriage of the hero.

The above will serve without alteration as the scope of *Waverley*.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF
WAVERLEY AND *LICHTENSTEIN*.

The historical background of each novel consists in the attempt of a dispossessed princely family to regain its throne, involving an invasion of the country, supported by a portion of loyal subjects, some successful military operations, transient occupation of the capital, and final failure and expulsion (so far as the action of the novel extends).

In each the prince and certain military officers, subordinate characters in the plot, are historical by name and actions.

In each the capture and occupation of the capital, and one or two military actions are historical, in *Lichtenstein* the battle of Kannstatt or Untertürkheim, in *Waverley* the battle of Preston and that of Clifton.

The minor military and political operations and situations are fairly historical.

SCOPE OF *IVANHOE*.

Ivanhoe is a tale of extraordinary knight-errantry mingled with a very subordinate element of love, being the restoration to his rights and station of a disinherited son, secured by valorous deeds and the interposition of his prince.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF
IVANHOE.

No part of the action is historical. Of personages, the prince and certain of the nobles are historical as to name and general attitude.

The tournament at Ashby, the ill-repute of Sherwood Forest, and the degeneracy of the Templars—in a word the *milieu* is fairly true to history.

PLOT OF *LICHTENSTEIN* AND
WAVERLEY.

The plot, common to both novels, is as follows: A young soldier of fortune begins his career by entering the army of the power opposed to the exiled royal family, but is won over to the cause of the prince by offended honor, by the love and appeals of a woman whose guardian is the chief lieutenant of the prince, and by the personal fascination of the prince himself. He incurs many adventures in transferring his allegiance and in support of the prince's attempt at restoration, distinguishes himself in action, saves the life of a prominent supporter of the government he is opposing, and, when the attempt of the prince finally fails, falls into the hands of the government. He is pardoned through the intercession of a military friend of his father and partly on the plea of his having himself spared the life aforesaid, is paroled, marries the woman he loves, and inherits the castle and estates of his father-in-law, to which he retires.

PLOT OF *IVANHOE*.

The son of a Saxon noble in the time of Richard Lionheart, disinherited by his father because of Norman predilections, returns from the Crusades and visits in disguise his father's hall, where he sees his foster-sister, whom he loves; he attends a grand tourney, where he defeats all rivals and awards the prize of beauty to his lady, but is himself carried wounded from the field, where he had been aided by his Prince, Richard, also in disguise. He is cared for by a rich Jew and his daughter, whom he has befriended; while being conducted through Sherwood Forest, he is assailed and captured along with the Jew and daughter, and at the same time with his father, his lady, and another Saxon noble (suitor for her hand), by the rival barons whom he had defeated at the tourney; and he is held in the castle of one of them. The castle is besieged by friendly freebooters led by Richard; it is taken and burned, and all the prisoners are freed, except the Jewess, who is carried by her captor to the Preceptory of the Templars. Rejecting his suit, she is accused of witchcraft by his brethren in order to save the reputation of the order, she is condemned, but appeals to the "Judgment of God" in battle. Being informed of her need by the Jewess's father, on the day set the hero appears as her champion, and her innocence is demonstrated by the death of her oppressor. On the intercession of Richard the hero is received to favor by his father, and is promised the lady to wife, while Richard, having revealed his iden-

PLOT OF *IVANHOE*.

tity, prepares to resume his throne which his brother John had vainly plotted to usurp.

LICHTENSTEIN AND WAVERLEY:
SITUATIONS.

IVANHOE: SITUATIONS.

The novels have in common the following situations: A reception-ball, at which the hero meets both the leading ladies of the story; a banquet at which the hero is insulted and makes an enemy; a garden scene in which the hero and heroine reach an understanding; a military review, at which the hero is a spectator; a hearing before a military tribunal, at which the hero is charged with disloyalty; a prison scene, in which a friend on the other side appears to the hero, shows a kindly interest in him and tries to dissuade him from embracing the cause of the pretender; a disguised messenger to the hero from the heroine warning him to care for his honor; a horseback trip through the mountains with a solitary guide; an assault upon the hero by partisans of the government who suspect in him the prince; the hero's illness in a peasant's cottage; a duel between the hero and a warrior of his own side, due to jealousy, interrupted by friends; a night in a cave; a visit at a baronial castle, home of the heroine's father (in *Waverley* the visit divided into two); the prince's intervention on behalf of the hero's suit; the occupation of the capital, with attendant festivities; a wedding (very brief in *Waverley*); the march and a night preceding a battle; a battle in considerable detail; a "clearing-up," at which the hero's future occupation of the old baron's castle is announced.

A swineherd and a fool met by certain travelers whom they attempt to misguide; hospitality to strangers at a baronial castle; the lodging-place given a Jew, showing the standing of his race; a grand tourney in detail; the Jew at home, with his miserliness; merry freebooters hold up a servant; a bout in quarter-staff; a contest in archery; a prince's banquet with toasts and challenges; a drinking-bout in the cell of a robber-monk; an assault by robber barons; the siege of a castle in great detail; a maiden in a besieged castle reporting to a wounded knight near her the fortunes of the besiegers, their friends; a freebooters' court; trial of a Jewess on charge of witchcraft before a Templars' court; ambushed assault upon a prince; a freebooters' banquet in the forest; a funeral; Judgment of God by battle.

LICHTENSTEIN AND WAVERLEY:
PERSONAGES.

Each novel has personages in common with the other, as follows: A fascinating and impetuous exiled prince; a somewhat impetuous and vacillating young soldier of fortune, the hero; a charming sole daughter of a baron devoted to the prince's cause, the heroine (though the secondary heroine divides honors with her in *Waverley*); a secondary lady (in *Waverley* almost outshining the heroine), a friend of the heroine, who assists in straightening out the relations of hero and heroine; an old baron, father of the heroine, and most devoted supporter of the cause of the prince, who is also pardoned and paroled at the close (in *Waverley* there is a secondary baron rather more devoted to the prince than the first one); a warrior on the government side who proves a sort of guardian angel to the hero; a shrewd and daring peasant guide and spy (in *Waverley* three such) devoted to the cause of the prince; a peasant girl, daughter of the foregoing, brought into contact with both hero and heroine; the hostess of an inn; carousing nobles; a body of irregular, clannish soldiery.

IVANHOE: PERSONAGES.

An imperious and irresistible prince returned in disguise to his own country; the hero a fearless and almost invincible warrior, the unfaltering supporter of the prince; the heroine, a Jewess, beautiful and devoted to her old father, loving hopelessly the hero; a secondary lady, a dummy, foster daughter of the hero's father, loved and won by the hero; a baron, the hero's father, suspicious of the prince and almost hostile to him; a dummy baron whom the preceding holds to be the rightful claimant to the throne, but who himself makes no claim; a bad prince, regent in his absent brother's stead, who is urged to rebel but has neither the nerve nor the head; several great barons who hate the hero and his prince because the former defeated them in tourney; an unscrupulous and dissolute Templar; a rich and typical fiction-Jew; a corrupt prelate; a prince of freebooters and of archers; an uproarious robber-monk; a noble swineherd-serf and personal attendant of the hero; a noble and valiant fool; a fanatic Grand Master of Templars; freebooters and Templars.

SITUATIONS COMPARED: *WAVERLEY AND LICHTENSTEIN.*

(The references here are to Hauff's *Werke*, vol. 3, in Cottas *Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*, and to the *Waverley* in the Holley Library printed by the Mershon Co.)

A banquet with much humor, ending in a quarrel that involves the hero.

Waverley, ch. XI (another, ch. XX).

Lichtenstein, ch. III (another, ch. XVII).

A cave visited by the hero under the guidance of a canny peasant, where he spends the night.

Waverley, ch. XVII (cp. also LXV).

Lichtenstein, ch. XVIII-XIX.

A scene before a military tribunal, ending in a defiance of the presiding officer by the hero, leading to his defection from his former cause.

Waverley, ch. XXXI (pp. 194 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. IX (pp. 78-79).

An improvised prison, in which the hero, under arrest, is visited secretly by a friend on the other side to win him back or at least comfort him. Details: The hero's easy falling asleep, *Waverley*, p. 201, *Lichtenstein*, p. 88; his bad dreams, *Waverley*, p. 208, *Lichtenstein*, p. 88, at bottom; suspected from being with peasant, *Waverley*, p. 210, *Lichtenstein*, p. 92, at top.)

Waverley, ch. XXXIII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XI.

A ball, at which the hero meets the heroine and her friend the second lady.

Waverley, ch. XLIII (pp. 260 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. VI (p. 64 ff.).

An assault upon the hero, under the impression that he is the prince or a spy.

Waverley, ch. XXX and XXXVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XIV (p. 112).

A peasant's hut, where the hero is nursed through his convalescence from injuries thus received.

Waverley, ch. XXXVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XV, XVI, XVII.

A military review, at which the hero is a spectator.

Waverley, ch. XLIV (p. 268).

Lichtenstein, ch. VIII.

A bivouac where the leaders sleep while a peasant guard sings.

Waverley, ch. XLVI (p. 283).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXV (p. 318).

Prayer before battle.

Waverley, ch. XXXVI (p. 286).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (p. 310).

A garden scene, in which the hero and heroine (second in *Waverley*) come to an understanding.

Waverley, ch. XXVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. VII (last half).

To the foregoing, in which details of the situations are similar, may be added the following, which are common to the two novels, but with fewer common details:

A horseback trip by the hero through the mountains, attended by a solitary guide.

Waverley, ch. XXXIX.

Lichtenstein, ch. XII and XIII.

A duel between the hero and a warrior of his own side, due to jealousy, interrupted by friends.

Waverley, ch. LVIII (pp. 342 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. XIX (pp. 153 ff.).

A visit by the hero to the castle of a baron, his future father-in-law.

Waverley, ch. VIII to XVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXI to XXVI (pp. 178 ff.).

The occupation of the capital, with attendant festivities.

Waverley, ch. XL to XLIII, and LI-LIV.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXVIII, XXXI, XXXII.

A wedding.

Waverley, ch. LXX.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXI.

A march.

Waverley, ch. XLIV.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII.

A battle, in much detail.

Waverley, ch. XLVII (Preston).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV.

DEVICES AND INCIDENTS.

The prince confers upon the hero, in order to attach him to his cause, an especial mark of favor.

Waverley, ch. XL (p. 247—sword).

Lichtenstein, ch. XX (pp. 170—1—ring).

The peddler disguise used by a friend of the hero.

Waverley, ch. XXXVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XVII (p. 135), XXV (p. 210).

The hero wakened, on the morning of the battle, by the sound of the drum (pibroch).

Waverley, ch. XL (p. 267).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (p. 267).

Concern of the baron for his daughter before the battle.

Waverley, ch. XL, VI (p. 282).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII (pp. 302—3).

The prince urged not to risk his life in battle, but (in *Lichtenstein*) to no purpose.

Waverley, ch. XLVII (p. 285).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (pp. 309—10).

Sunday recognized by ringing of bells, the hero having lost his reckoning.

Waverley, XXIX (p. 180).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXI (p. 175).

The hero's renunciation of his first allegiance.

Waverley, XXV (p. 157).

Lichtenstein, ch. IX (p. 80).

Letter conveyed from the heroine to the hero by a disguised messenger, in which she shows concern for his honor.

Waverley, ch. XXVIII (p. 175, quite long).

Lichtenstein, ch. VIII (p. 69, very brief,
but with pointed allusion to the length
of such epistles in modern times).

Cowardly clerk forced to ride into battle.

Waverley, ch. XLIX (p. 295).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXLV (pp. 307-8).

An officer of the enemy rescued from death by the hero.

Waverley, ch. XLVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXIX (a civil officer).

Condemned traitors forced to throw dice for their lives (in both novels a sub-narration).

Waverley, ch. LI (p. 309).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXV (p. 321).

Intercession of the prince for the hero in his love-suit.

Waverley, ch. XLIII (p. 262).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXIV (pp. 204-5).

Hero advised to spare himself for the sake of the heroine.

Waverley, ch. LIX (p. 349).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII (p. 302).

Hostile officer bails hero.

Waverley, ch. LXVI (p. 397).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXVI (p. 335).

DETAILS OF PERSONAGES.

The hero is a scholar, an orphan, supported by an uncle, is inexperienced in war as he comes upon the stage of action, is unstable in character (this fact being hinted at in his name), has taken service, though without conviction or enthusiasm, with the party opposed to the dispossessed prince, is won over

to the side of the prince by love for a very loyal lady, by the harshness of officers on the side of his first allegiance, and by the fascination of the prince himself, and at the close of a similar career (as indicated in the plot) comes into possession of the estate of his father-in-law. He is personally a very "pratty man" (*Waverley*, ch. XLII, p. 254) with light brown hair and graceful figure.

He is reproached for his instability (*Waverley*, ch. L, p. 300; *Lichtenstein*, ch. xx, p. 188).

The heroine of *Waverley* is really secondary in character, and is much like the secondary lady of *Lichtenstein* (Bertha), while the secondary lady of *Waverley* (Flora), who is the true heroine, corresponds in character to the first lady and heroine of *Lichtenstein* (Marie). The relation of these two ladies in the two novels has some resemblance.

Bradwardine and MacIvor together in *Waverley* are combined in the character and functions of the baron of *Lichtenstein*. In age and in relation to the heroine, the latter represents Bradwardine; in character and influence upon the hero he is more like MacIvor.

PREFACES.

There is a very evident similarity between the Preface of *Lichtenstein* and the General Preface of *Waverley*, in the resolution to arouse interest in local history and to exploit the deeds as well as the manners and customs of the country involved. But the most notable feature of the similarity lies in the fact that Scott confesses himself in the attitude of disciple to Miss Edgeworth in the very same way that Hauff professes his intention of following Scott. Yet, curiously enough, as though to warn us against relying too confidently on resemblances, the General Preface of Scott, so far as the evidence of attached dates goes, was written, or published, in 1829, two years after Hauff's death. Unless Scott somewhere printed his resolution to emulate Miss Edgeworth

before 1827, we must be careful not to charge Hauff with imitating an example that was not set until two years after his own death.

It may well be maintained that many similarities between *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley* became inevitable as soon as the subject was selected, and that the similarity in subject may have been fortuitous. For instance: given the situation of the whole—a dispossessed prince trying to regain his country—and disguises, spies, ambushes, marches, bivouacs, battles, sieges, become a matter of course. It would be interesting to analyze the whole *Waverley* series and discover how many such elements are common to them all.

Nevertheless, I fancy that no one can survey the array and the relation of the similarities I have cited without admitting that the number and detail of them is too great to have been a matter of chance. It will be observed, on reference to Dr. Eastman's paper, that all of the resemblances noted by him except point two in his second summary (that the assault upon the knight is made at the instigation of a knight high in authority among the enemies of the monarch), are found to exist between *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, while the points are in several cases more precisely adapted to *Waverley* than to *Ivanhoe*. For instance, point one in the first summary: Richard is scarcely a fugitive in his own country. He is in disguise rather from whim, and has but to declare himself in order to resume his throne. Similarly with point five in the second summary: It scarcely describes the situation in *Ivanhoe*, since there has been no struggle between Richard and his enemies for possession of the country. But beyond these, the great number of further details connecting *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, occurring often in identical sequence, together with the great similarity in plot and historical background, which are lacking in the case of *Ivanhoe*, leave scarcely any room for doubt that Hauff deliberately helped himself to the mechanism and skeleton of *Waverley*.

Of similarity in style I find nothing noteworthy, and no direct borrowings. *Lichtenstein* follows the method of *Ivanhoe* in introducing the chapters with quotations from the poets, while all three novels have inlaid poems.

The borrowings which I have noted do not seem to me to concern the deepest elements of originality. Where Hauff deviates from the method or the structure of his master and his model, he seems to me, for the most part, to have held his own or to have improved upon them. In the latter line I reckon the omission of the long and pedantic opening chapters and in general the less gossipy manner of narrating.

In the case of the lansquenets, and of Hans, the peasant spy, and his daughter Bärbele, which parallel in some measure the freebooters of Sherwood Forest, and Evan Dhu-Bean Lean and the daughter of the latter, Hauff's materials are if anything more attractive than those of Scott, and, as they were indigenous, he was forced to treat them in his own manner. And here, as I said, he at least does not suffer by comparison with his master.

In what we shall have to call, for want of a suitable English expression, the "kulturgeschichtlicher Inhalt" of his work, Hauff is distinctly poorer than Scott. For instance, although *Lichtenstein* is laid in the year 1519 and in south-west Germany, one would be wholly unaware of the religious conflicts of the time, save for two brief and rather perfunctory references to "the monk of Wittenberg."

I cannot sympathize with the patronizing and sometimes contemptuous tone in which most German critics speak of Hauff's masterpiece. While it partakes of the general characteristics of the novel in its then stage of development, among its contemporaries I consider it as the best, and scarcely regard as a reproach the indebtedness to Scott which I have pointed out, and which was in general so frankly confessed by Hauff himself.

W. H. CARRUTH.